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A HISTORY OF IRAQ THIRD EDITION

To understand Iraq, Charles Tripp's history is the book to read. Since its first appearance in 2000, it has become a classic in the field of Middle East studies, read and admired by students, soldiers, policy-makers, journalists and all those seeking to make sense of what has gone wrong in this troubled country. The book is now updated to include the events of the last few years: the American invasion, the fall and capture of Saddam Husain and the subsequent descent into civil strife. What is clear is that much that has happened since 2003 could have been predicted, and in fact was foreshadowed in the account found in the pages of this book. Tripp's thesis is that the history of Iraq throughout the twentieth century has made it what it is today, but also provides alternative futures. Unless this is properly understood, many of the themes explored in this book – patron–client relations, organised violence, sectarian, ethnic and tribal difference – will continue to exert a hold over the future of Iraq as they did over its past. There is much to learn here, and there can be few books which tell this sad story to such effect.

CHARLES TRIPP is Professor of Politics in the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. His publications include *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism* (2006), *Iran–Saudi Arabia Relations and Regional Order* (with S. Chubin, 1996) and *Iran and Iraq at War* (1988).

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A HISTORY OF IRAQ

Third Edition

CHARLES TRIPP

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London



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For Venetia

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Chronology

- 1831 Ottoman reconquest of Baghdad: capture of the last *mamluk* governor
- 1908 Young Turk revolution in Istanbul
- 1909 Sultan Abdulhamid II deposed
- 1914 November: British occupation of Basra
- 1917 March: British occupation of Baghdad
- 1918 November: British occupation of Mosul
- 1920 April: San Remo meeting assigns Mandate for Iraq to United Kingdom
 July–October: Iraqi revolt
 November: Sayyid ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kailani forms first Iraqi government
- 1921 March: Cairo Conference decides on Prince Faisal bin Husain al-Hashemi as king of Iraq
 August: enthronement of King Faisal in Baghdad
- 1924 March: Constituent Assembly opens
 June: Anglo-Iraqi Treaty passed
- 1925 March: Iraqi government signs Turkish Petroleum Company oil concession
 December: League of Nations decides that Mosul should remain part of Iraq
- 1927 First major oil finds near Kirkuk
- 1930 June: new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty signed promising Iraqi independence
- 1932 October: League of Nations ends Mandate and grants independence to Iraq
- 1933 September: King Faisal dies; King Ghazi succeeds
- 1935 January: official opening of Kirkuk – Mediterranean pipeline
- 1936 October: military coup d’état, backed by General Bakr Sidqi; Hikmat Sulaiman forms a government
- 1937 August: Bakr Sidqi assassinated; Hikmat Sulaiman overthrown by army

Chronology

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- 1939 April: King Ghazi killed in car accident; succeeded by infant son, Faisal II, under regency of Prince ‘Abd al-Ilah
- 1941 April: military coup d’état: ‘Government of National Defence’ formed by Rashid ‘Ali al-Kailani; regent flees Baghdad
 May: British troops march on Baghdad; collapse and flight of Rashid ‘Ali al-Kailani’s government
 June: regent returns to Baghdad
- 1948 January: new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty signed at Portsmouth; mass protests in Baghdad – known as *al-Wathba* (the leap); treaty abandoned
 May: Iraq sends expeditionary force to Palestine
- 1949 February: Iraqi army withdraws from Palestine
- 1952 February: Iraqi agreement with Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) on 50–50 share of profits
 November–December: demonstrations erupt in Baghdad – known as *al-Intifada* (the uprising)
- 1953 May: King Faisal II enthroned; regency ends
- 1955 February: formation of Baghdad Pact
- 1956 October: Suez Crisis; riots in Baghdad, Mosul and Najaf
- 1958 February: formation of United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria); Jordan and Iraq form Arab Union
 July: military coup d’état in Baghdad; monarchy overthrown and republic established; Brigadier ‘Abd al-Karim Qasim becomes prime minister, minister of defence and commander in chief
 September: Agrarian Reform Law
- 1959 October: Mustafa Barzani asserts his control of Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)
 December: Iraq withdraws from Baghdad Pact
- 1961 June: Kuwaiti independence; Qasim demands its integration into Iraq; Great Britain sends troops to Kuwait, replaced by Arab League force in August
 July: Barzani demands substantial autonomy for Kurdish region
 September: fighting in Kurdistan between Barzani’s forces and Iraqi army
 December: Law 80 reclaims unexploited areas of IPC’s concession
- 1963 February: military coup d’état by Ba‘thist and Arab nationalist officers; Qasim and colleagues killed
 October–November: splits and confusion in the Ba‘th
 November: President ‘Abd al-Salam ‘Arif and military allies eject Ba‘thists from power

- 1964 July: nationalisation of all banks, insurance companies and large industrial firms; further land reform
 October: Kurdish autonomy talks break down and fighting resumes
- 1965 April: full-scale war in Kurdistan
 September: 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bazzaz appointed prime minister
- 1966 April: death of 'Abd al-Salam 'Arif in helicopter crash; succeeded by his brother 'Abd al-Rahman 'Arif
 July: Barzani accepts al-Bazzaz's twelve-point programme on Kurdish autonomy
 August: 'Arif dismisses al-Bazzaz
- 1967 June: war with Israel; Iraq sends token force to Jordan
- 1968 17 July: military coup d'état by Arab nationalist and Ba'athist army officers; 'Abd al-Rahman 'Arif sent into exile; Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr becomes president
 30 July: Ba'athist military coup d'état organised by al-Bakr ousts non-Ba'athist allies
- 1969 June: major agreement between Iraq and USSR on Soviet assistance in exploiting Iraqi oil fields
 November: Saddam Husain appointed to ruling Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and becomes its vice-chairman
- 1970 March: manifesto on Kurdistan, granting limited autonomy; Barzani calls cease-fire
 May: land reform measures
 July: new provisional constitution recognises Kurdish nationalism
- 1971 November: relations between Iraq and Iran severed
- 1972 April: Iraq and USSR sign fifteen-year Iraq–USSR Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation
 June: IPC nationalised
 November–December: fighting in northern Kurdistan
- 1973 July: failed coup attempt by Kazzar; al-Bakr and Saddam Husain reinforce their hold on the state
 October: limited Iraqi participation in war with Israel
- 1974 March: Autonomy Law for Kurdish areas announced despite continuing disagreement between government and KDP; widespread fighting throughout Kurdistan
- 1975 March: Algiers Agreement between Saddam Husain and shah of Iran ends Iranian assistance to KDP; Kurdish revolt collapses
 June: Kurdish movement split; KDP–Provisional Leadership led by Masoud Barzani, and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani

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- 1977 February: 30,000 process from Najaf to Karbala; called the *Safar intifada*, it becomes a general anti-government protest
- 1978 October: expulsion of Ayatollah Khomeini from Iraq
 November: Baghdad Summit following Camp David accords marks Iraqi bid for Arab leadership
- 1979 Spring: success of Iranian revolution encourages Shi'i Islamist organisations to launch more active campaign in Iraq
 July: al-Bakr resigns; Saddam Husain immediately sworn in as president; purge of RCC and Ba'ath Party
 November: KDP Congress elects Masoud Barzani as chairman and calls for continuing armed struggle inside Iraq
- 1980 March: law for election of National Assembly in Iraq
 April: Ayatollah al-Sadr and his sister, Bint al-Huda, executed in Baghdad; over 40,000 Shi'a expelled to Iran
 September: Iraqi forces invade Iran
- 1982 June–July: Iran's counteroffensive recaptures most of its territory; 9th Regional Congress of Ba'ath Party reasserts Saddam Husain's absolute control
 Autumn: sudden death of former president Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr
- 1984 Escalation of war in the waters of the Gulf
 Iraq re-establishes diplomatic relations with United States
- 1986 Iran captures al-Faw peninsula
- 1987 Iraqi government campaign against KDP and PUK in Kurdistan
- 1988 February: beginning of *al-Anfal* in Kurdistan
 July: Iran accepts UN cease-fire resolution; war with Iraq ends
- 1990 August: Iraq invades and annexes Kuwait; UN imposes total trade embargo and sanctions on Iraq
- 1991 January: 'Desert Storm' begins: air bombardment of Iraq by US-led allied forces leading to liberation of Kuwait by allied forces in February
 March: eruption and crushing of *al-Intifada*, uprisings against Iraqi regime in Shi'i south and Kurdish north
 April: UN Security Council Resolution 687 – demands Iraqi recognition of Kuwait and destruction of all Iraq's non-conventional weapons, and affirms that economic sanctions would continue until full compliance; 'safe haven' established in northern Iraq, effectively placing most of Kurdistan under allied protection; Resolution 688 calls on Iraqi government to stop oppressing its own people
 May: first visit of United Nations Special Commission on Disarmament (UNSCOM) weapons inspection team
 October: Iraqi armed forces blockade Kurdistan

- 1992 May: elections in Kurdish zone: more or less equal balance between KDP and PUK
 July: Kurdish Regional Government formed by both parties, but in effect two parallel administrations created, running separate areas
- 1993 May: UN Security Council approves demarcation of Iraq–Kuwait border in Kuwait’s favour
 June: United States launches missile strike on headquarters of Iraqi intelligence services in Baghdad in reprisal for Iraqi plot to kill President Bush during his visit to Kuwait
 October–November: Iraqi forces launch campaign against inhabitants of marshes in south of Iraq and finalise plans for draining of marshes
- 1994 May–August: open fighting between KDP and PUK
 October–November: Iraqi threats to Kuwait lead to crisis and eventual Iraqi recognition of Kuwait as an independent state
- 1996 February: Iraq finally accepts UN Security Council Resolution 986 allowing limited Iraqi oil sales for purchase of vital civilian supplies
 August: Iraqi government forces enter Kurdish region at invitation of KDP and help to capture Arbil from PUK; United States responds by launching missile attacks on southern Iraq and extending southern no-fly zone north to 33rd parallel
 December: Iraqi oil flows again through pipeline to Turkey; Iraq returns to world oil market as a producer
- 1998 September: Washington Agreement ends fighting between KDP and PUK
 November: Iraq Liberation Act passed by US Congress
 December: ‘Operation Desert Fox’, air bombardment of Iraq by US Air Force and Royal Air Force in retaliation for Iraqi non-cooperation with weapons inspections; Iraq ceases all co-operation forthwith
- 1999 January–December: weekly attacks by American and British planes on Iraqi forces challenging their right to overfly Iraqi territory in southern and northern no-fly zones
 December: UN Security Council Resolution 1284 offering to suspend sanctions if Iraq cooperates with a new weapons inspection regime for 120 days; new weapons inspection agency set up – UNMOVIC. Iraq rejects the resolution and refuses to allow UNMOVIC into Iraq
- 2000 March: Iraq defies UN ban on civil air flights and organises flights of pilgrims to Mecca

Chronology

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- September: Baghdad airport reopens. Much-publicised flights arrive from Russia, France, Syria and other countries
 November: domestic civil flights resume within Iraq
- 2001 January: Masoud Barzani (KDP) and Jalal Talabani (PUK) meet for first time in three years
 February: extensive American and British air strikes against air defence systems around Baghdad
 May–July: UK and United States try and fail to persuade UN Security Council to adopt ‘smart sanctions’ resolution
 August: extensive American and British air strikes against air defence systems in southern Iraq
 October: KDP–PUK cooperation proceeds. PUK forces in armed combat with Kurdish Islamist group Jund al-Islam
 November: UN Security Council Resolution 1382 renews six-month ‘oil for food’ arrangement and opens way for possible reform of sanctions regime and return of weapons inspectors
- 2002 January: US President Bush identifies Iraq as part of an ‘axis of evil’
 March: public Iraqi reconciliation with Saudi Arabia at Arab League Summit in Beirut
 June: President Bush and staff finalise war plans against Iraq
 October: US Congress passes resolution authorising use of military force against Iraq
 November: UN Security Council Resolution 1441: requires Iraq to re-admit weapons inspectors of UNMOVIC. Iraq accepts
- 2003 January: General Garner appointed to head Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance to rule Iraq after invasion
 February–March: US and UK try and fail to obtain UN SC resolution explicitly authorising the use of force against Iraq
 March: ‘Operation Iraq Freedom’ launched by US, UK and allied forces to overthrow Saddam Husain and occupy Iraq
 April: Basra, Baghdad and Mosul fall to allied forces; Saddam Husain flees into hiding; widespread looting and destruction of government buildings
 May: Paul Bremer replaces Garner as chief US authority in Iraq, heading the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA): dissolution of Ba‘th Party and of Iraqi armed forces; UN SC Resolution 1483 grants US and UK power to govern Iraq and ends thirteen-year sanctions regime
 July: CPA sets up Iraqi Governing Council with limited powers; US military command admits it is facing ‘guerrilla war’ in Iraq

- August: UN headquarters in Baghdad blown up; Ayatollah Baqir al-Hakim (head of SCIRI) assassinated
 October: sectarian violence in Baghdad; inter-ethnic violence in Kirkuk
 November: US creates timetable for handover of power to Iraqi government
 December: capture of Saddam Husain
- 2004 March: IGC approves draft provisional constitution (Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period [TAL])
 April–May: fierce fighting between US forces and insurgents in Fallujah; US and Mahdi Army forces clash in Najaf
 June: CPA and IGC dissolved and sovereignty handed to an interim government, headed by prime minister Ayad ‘Allawi
 August: US forces fight Mahdi Army in Najaf
 November: US and Iraqi forces attack insurgents in Fallujah – widespread destruction
- 2005 January: general elections for the transitional national assembly charged with drafting a new constitution, boycotted by Sunni Arabs: United Iraqi Alliance (‘Shi‘i list’) wins overall majority; elections for Kurdish Regional Assembly dominated by KDP and PUK
 April: Ibrahim al-Ja‘fari of UIA becomes prime minister and forms government; Jalal Talabani elected president of Iraq
 August: constitutional committee presents draft constitution to assembly which submits it to a plebiscite
 October: constitutional plebiscite approves constitution by 78% to 22% – Shi‘i and Kurdish provinces vote in favour, Sunni Arab provinces against; trial of Saddam Husain and associates begins
 December: general elections for national assembly: UIA largest single bloc, but no overall majority
- 2006 February: al-Askariyya mosque in Samarra blown up; sectarian conflict intensifies
 April: Jalal Talabani sworn in as president of Iraq
 May: Nuri al-Maliki of UIA forms new government
 July: British authorities hand over Muthanna province to Iraqi control
 September: Italian forces hand over Dhi Qar province to Iraqi control
 October: national assembly passes law allowing groups of provinces to form federated states

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- November: Saddam Husain sentenced to death by Iraqi High Tribunal
December: Saddam Husain executed; death toll of US forces since 2003 reaches 3,000; UN estimates over 100 Iraqi civilians die violently every day
2007 January: draft law allowing foreign investment and participation in Iraqi oil industry put before national assembly
February: US sends 28,000 extra troops to Iraq to implement new security plan for Baghdad

Glossary

<i>agha</i>	Kurdish chieftain
<i>amir</i>	prince
<i>al-Anfal</i>	literally, 'the spoils of war', and the title of the eighth <i>sura</i> of the Qur'an; the codename given by the Iraqi authorities to their forces' operations in Kurdistan in 1988
<i>ashraf</i> (sing. <i>sharif</i>) naqib al-ashraf	descendants of the Prophet Muhammad senior descendant of the Prophet Muhammad in a community
ʿAshura	tenth day of month of Muharram, held in special reverence by Shi'i Muslims since it commemorates the death of Imam Husain in 680 CE at Karbala
ʿatabat	literally, 'thresholds' or 'doorways'; denoting Holy Cities of Shi'ism in Iraq: Najaf, Karbala, al-Kazimiyya, Samarra
ayatollah	literally, 'sign from God'; an honorific title for senior Shi'i clerics
<i>fatwa</i>	a formal opinion or judgement delivered by an expert in the <i>Shari'a</i>
<i>fiqh</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
<i>hajj</i>	Muslims' annual pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>hawza</i>	short for <i>al-hawza al-ʿilmiyya</i> – 'the seat of knowledge', meaning the Shi'i clerical establishment
<i>iltizam</i>	tax-farming or tax-gathering concession
<i>jahsh</i>	literally, 'little donkeys'; derisory term used about the National Defence Battalions, Kurdish tribal irregulars employed by the Ba'athist government
<i>jihad</i>	war against unbelievers according to the <i>shari'a</i>
<i>mamluk</i>	member of a military elite, originally a slave

Glossary

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<i>marja' al-taqlid</i>	literally, 'source of emulation', the highest accolade of the most senior of Shi'ī scholars
<i>millet</i>	a recognised autonomous religious community in the Ottoman Empire
<i>mujtahid</i>	a Shi'ī cleric recognised as competent to deliver independent opinions on matters relating to the <i>shari'a</i>
<i>peshmerga</i>	literally, 'those who face death'; term referring to Kurdish guerrilla forces
<i>qaimaqam</i>	district governor, subordinate to governor of a province
<i>salafi</i>	term used to denote a believer in the need for Muslim reform with reference to the example of earliest Muslims (<i>al-salaf al-salih</i> – the pious forebears)
<i>saniyya</i> lands	land belonging to the Ottoman sultan
<i>sarifa</i>	literally, 'hut made of reed matting'; general term for shanty towns that grew up around Baghdad
<i>sayyid</i>	descendant of the Prophet Muhammad
shaikh	in Arab Iraq, either an Arab tribal chieftain or a religious scholar; in Kurdish Iraq, a man of saintly descent, usually head of a religious order
<i>shari'a</i>	the body of rules guiding the life of a Muslim
Sufi	member of an Islamic mystical (<i>sufi</i>) order
<i>Thalweg</i>	median line of deepest channel of a waterway
<i>'ulama</i> (sing. <i>'alim</i>)	those learned in Islamic law
<i>vali</i>	governor of a province (<i>vilayet</i> (Turkish))
<i>waqf</i> (pl. <i>awqaf</i>)	religious endowment, generally landed property

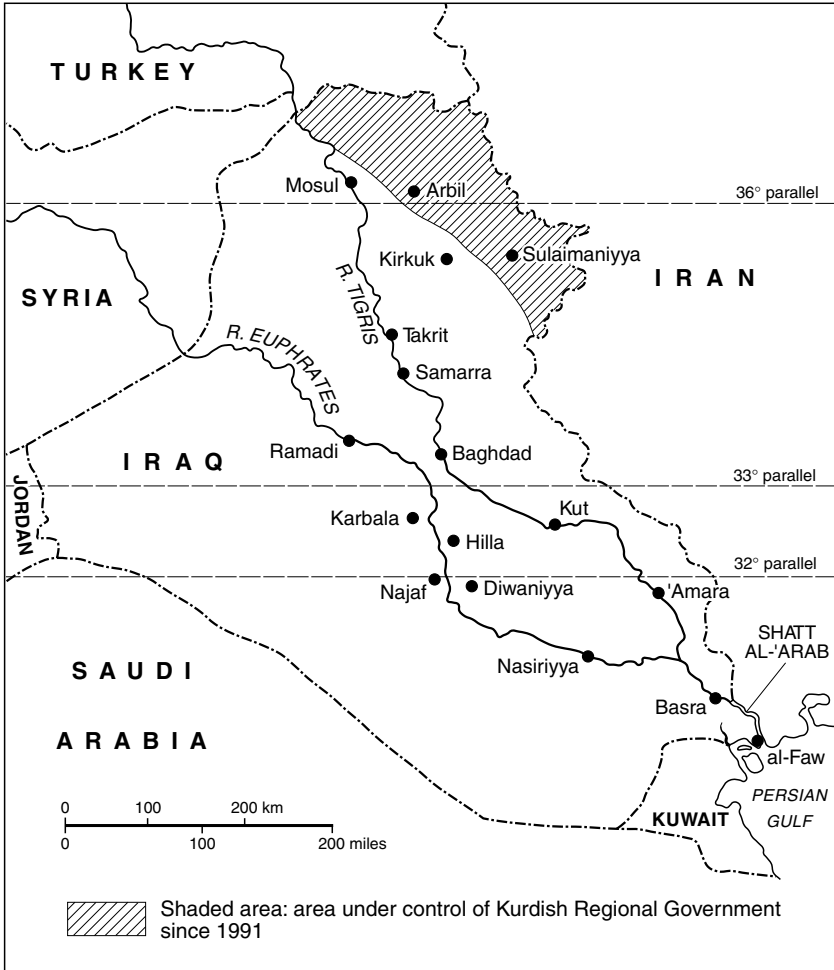
List of abbreviations

CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CUP	Committee of Union and Progress; Constitutional Union Party
DFI	Development Fund for Iraq
GFIW	General Federation of Iraqi Workers
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICP	Iraqi Communist Party
IFTU	Iraqi Federation of Trade Unions
IGC	Iraqi Governing Council
IIP	Iraqi Islamic Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INA	Iraqi National Accord
INC	Iraqi National Congress
INOC	Iraqi National Oil Company
IPC	Iraq Petroleum Company
ISG	Iraq Survey Group
IWN	Iraqi Women's Network
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KDP-I	Kurdistan Democratic Party – Iran
KRG	Kurdish Regional Government
LUP	Liberal Unionist Party
MEF	Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force
NCRC	National Council of the Revolutionary Command
NDP	National Democratic Party
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORHA	Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance
OWFI	Organisation of Women's Freedom in Iraq
PKK	Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (Kurdistan Workers' Party)
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

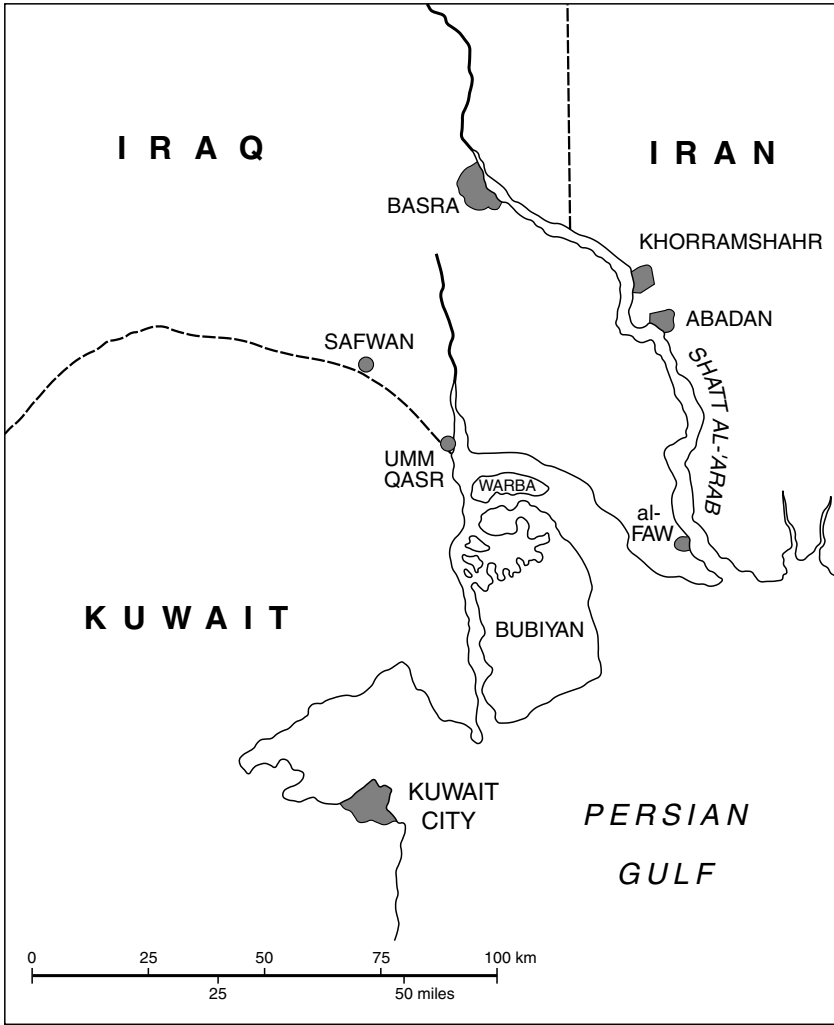
List of abbreviations

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RAF	Royal Air Force
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
SCIRI	Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq
TAL	Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period
TPC	Turkish Petroleum Company
UAR	United Arab Republic
UIA	United Iraqi Alliance
UNMOVIC	United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UN SC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission on Disarmament
WAFDI	Women's Alliance for Democratic Iraq
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction

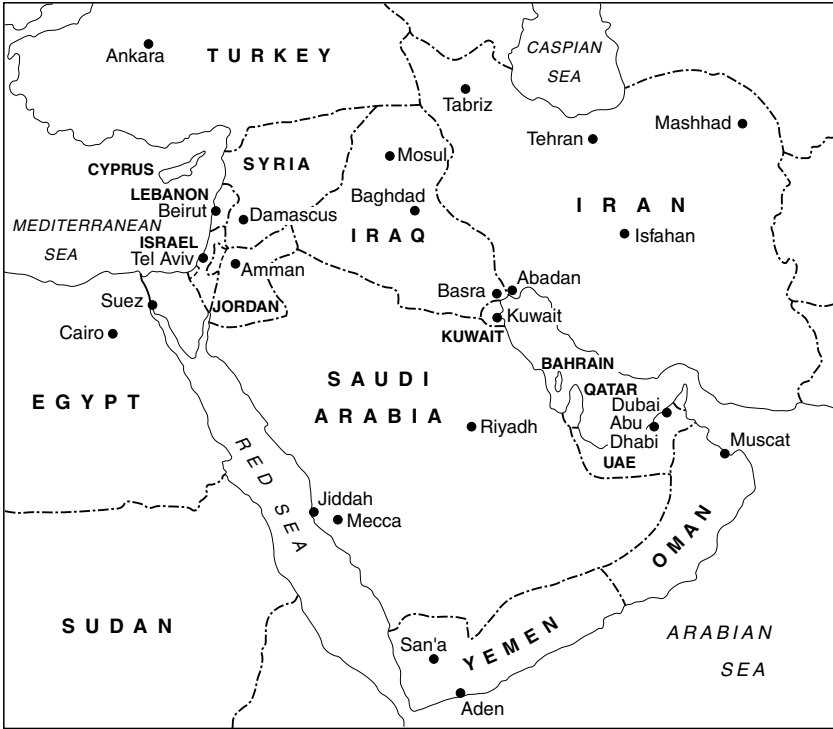


Map 1 Iraq: principal towns



Map 2 Basra, Kuwait and the Shatt al-'Arab

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Map 3 Iraq and the Middle East



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